Violence Policy Center



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STATEMENT OF KRISTEN RAND LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR VIOLENCE POLICY CENTER

BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

OF THE

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

March 18, 2009

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, for this opportunity to present the views of the Violence Policy Center (VPC). The VPC is a national non-profit educational organization working to prevent violence. The VPC has studied the firearms industry for more than 20 years.

The Role of U.S. Guns in Mexican Drug Violence

It is clear that firearms obtained from the United States are helping fuel the drug violence in Mexico. It is also clear that military-style firearms—both imported and domestic—are the drug cartels' weapons of choice. This fact has been verified in testimony before this subcommittee by William J. Hoover, Assistant Director, Office of Field Operations, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF) in February 2008:

Mexican drug trafficking organizations have aggressively turned to the U.S. as a source of firearms. These weapons are used against other DTOs [Drug Trafficking Organizations], the Mexican military, Mexican and U.S. law enforcement officials, as well as innocent civilians on both sides of the border. Our comprehensive analysis of firearms trace data over the past three years shows that Texas, Arizona, and California are the three primary source states respectively for U.S.-sourced firearms illegally trafficked into Mexico. Recently, the weapons sought by drug trafficking organizations have become increasingly higher quality and more powerful. These include the Barrett .50-caliber rifle, the Colt AR-15 .223-caliber assault rifle, the AK-47 7.62-caliber assault rifle and its

variants, and the FN 5.57-caliber pistols better known in Mexico as the cop killer. [Italics added.]¹

Smugglers reportedly move guns into Mexico in a variety of ways, but according to the *Associated Press* "most are driven through ports of entry, stuffed inside spare tires, fastened to undercarriages with zip ties, kept in hidden compartments, or bubble-wrapped and tucked in vehicle panels." Arizona's Attorney General described this traffic recently as "a 'parade of ants'—it's not any one big dealer, it's lots of individuals." The dimensions of that traffic are not known, but it appears to be growing. U.S. and Mexican officials report that, based on ATF tracing data, the cartels get between 90 percent and 95 percent of their firearms from the United States. Traces by ATF of firearms from Mexico have reportedly increased from 2,100 in 2006 to 3,300 in 2007 and 7,700 in 2008.

Why Drug Cartels Covet Military-Style Weapons

It is important to understand why drug cartels favor these military-style firearms.

Assault weapons, such as the AK-47 and the AR-15, are favored because they incorporate specific design characteristics that make them more lethal—that is, more effective killing machines—than standard sporting firearms. Civilian assault weapons can be rifles, pistols, or shotguns. They are semiautomatic (firing one bullet per trigger pull) military-style, anti-personnel firearms. Unlike true military weapons, they are not fully automatic (firing bullets as long as the trigger is depressed). Military and civilian assault weapons, however, share key design features, including: pistol grips or barrel shrouds that allow the weapon to be "spray-fired" from the hip; and, the ability to accept detachable, high-capacity ammunition magazines holding from 10 to 100 rounds of ammunition. These features make it possible for the shooter to quickly fire across a relatively wide area with a lethal spray of bullets. This increased lethality makes assault weapons particularly dangerous in civilian use and explains their appeal to mass murderers, cop killers, and other violent criminals. It also distinguishes them from true hunting or target weapons.⁴

The Barrett 50 caliber sniper rifle is specifically designed to engage and destroy materiel targets on the battlefield at long range. These anti-armor rifles combine range and striking power that is far beyond that of any hunting rifle, and beyond that of the rifles our infantry carry. Armored personnel carriers, aircraft, rail tank cars, bulk fuel storage, and concrete bunkers are vulnerable to 50 caliber rifle fire at distances of 1,000 to 2,000 yards.⁵

The Belgian FN Herstal Five-seveN handgun is a pistol and cartridge specifically designed to defeat body armor. This handgun is known as the *mata policia* or "cop killer" in Mexico.⁶

All of these military-style firearms—and many more—are readily available throughout the United States. In fact, it is quite easy for any individual to build an arsenal sufficient to outfit an army. This is the inevitable result of specific design choices and marketing strategies employed by U.S. civilian gun industry. Today, military-style firearms dominate the U.S. civilian market. One gun industry publication recently opined that "the sole bright spot in the industry right now is the tactical end of the market, where AR and AK pattern rifles and high-tech designs, such as FNH USA's PS90 carbine, are in incredibly high demand right now."⁷

America is Awash in Military-Style Firearms—Manufactured Abroad and in the United States

Imported Assault Rifles

The vast majority of AK-type rifles available on the American market today are of foreign manufacture. This is true despite the fact that a ban on imported assault rifles has technically been in place since 1989, a product of the George H.W. Bush administration. The "import ban" was the direct result of the federal government's efforts to crack down on the weapons favored by U.S. drug cartels. In fact, a primary proponent of the 1989 ban was then-"Drug Czar" William Bennett. The 1989 ban relied on existing executive authority under the 1968 Gun Control Act to prohibit the import of firearms that are not "generally recognized as particularly suitable for or readily adaptable to sporting purposes," the so-called "sporting purposes" test.

The legislative history of the "sporting purposes" test clearly indicates that Congress intended the importation standard in section 925(d)(3) to exclude military-type weapons from importation.

According to the Senate Report, section 925(d)(3) was intended to "curb the flow of surplus military weapons and other firearms being brought into the United States which are not particularly suitable for target shooting or hunting." ¹⁰

The Senate report explains that "[t]he importation of certain foreignmade and military surplus nonsporting firearms has an important bearing on the [crime] problem which this title is designed to alleviate. Thus, the import provisions of this title seem entirely justified."¹¹

During debate on the bill, Senator Thomas Dodd, the sponsor of the legislation, stated, "Title IV prohibits importation of arms which the Secretary determines are not suitable for...sport.... The entire intent of the importation section is to get those kinds of weapons that are used by criminals and have no sporting purpose." With respect to the meaning of "sporting purposes," Senator Dodd stated that "[h]ere again I would have to say that if a military weapon is used in a special sporting event, it does not become a sporting weapon. It is a military weapon used in a special sporting event.... As I said previously the language says no firearms will be admitted into this country unless they are genuine sporting weapons." 13

The responsibility for determining whether a firearm meets the "sporting purposes" test was delegated to the Secretary of Treasury (where ATF was housed at the time). The discretion to make these determinations was given to the Secretary largely because Congress recognized that section 925(d)(3) was a technical and difficult provision to implement. Immediately after discussing the large role cheap, imported 22 caliber revolvers were playing in crime, the Senate Report stated:

[t]he difficulty of defining weapons characteristics to meet this target without discriminating against sporting quality firearms, was a major reason why the Secretary of the Treasury has been given fairly broad discretion in defining and administering the import prohibition.¹⁴

The Bush administration's action in 1989 also withstood a legal challenge. An importer challenged ATF's authority to suspend the import of certain AUG-SA assault rifles pending the agency's review of import procedures. A suit was filed in federal court, seeking to prohibit the government from interfering with the delivery of firearms imported under permits issued prior to the temporary suspension.

The Court of Appeals found that the government had the authority to suspend temporarily the importation of the AUG-SA rifles and rejected the importer's contention that the suspension was arbitrary and capricious because the AUG-SA rifle had not physically changed, explaining that the gunmaker's argument "places too much emphasis on the rifle's structure for determining whether a firearm falls within the sporting purpose exception." The court found that ATF adequately had considered sufficient evidence before imposing the temporary suspension, citing evidence ATF had considered which demonstrated that semiautomatic assault-type rifles were increasingly being used in crime. No one challenged the final determination that the semiautomatic assault rifles banned from importation did not meet the "sporting purposes" test.

The ban was strengthened by the Clinton administration in 1998 to exclude from import any assault rifle with the "ability to accept a detachable large capacity

magazine originally designed and produced for a military assault weapon."¹⁶ The Clinton administration acted in response to gun industry efforts to evade the import restrictions, including slight cosmetic modifications to gun designs.

It appears, however, that during the past eight years of the George W. Bush administration, ATF has almost completely abrogated the ban on imported assault rifles. The evidence that the Bush administration has weakened the ban on imported assault weapons includes a glut of AK-variant assault rifles from former Eastern Bloc nations for sale to U.S. gun dealers and the general public. It is not clear how many of these guns enter the country fully manufactured and how many are brought in as parts and assembled here. Regardless of the physical state of the guns when they are imported-complete or in parts-the importers are clearly skirting the law. The presidential directives implementing the import restrictions were clear that the goal was to make imported assault weapons unavailable in the U.S. market. Moreover, Congress passed an amendment in 1990 prohibiting the domestic assembly of nonimportable firearms. The sponsor of the amendment, Representative Jolene Unsoeld, described her amendment thusly, "My amendment would clarify that the ban refers to domestic assembly of nonimportable firearms only." Representative John Dingell, a supporter of the amendment, said, "The Unsoeld amendment is really a perfecting amendment. Adding 'from imported parts' to the language of section 705, makes it clear and unambiguous that our goal is to prohibit a person from end running the current ban on certain foreign made firearms by importing their parts and assembling them in the United States."17

Despite the clear intent of Congress that this provision was designed to strengthen the 1989 ban on imported assault rifles, ATF appears to be interpreting the language in a way that allows importers to assemble prohibited firearms from imported parts. Some importers are also skirting the law by making slight changes to their magazine wells so that they are technically not guns "that have the ability to accept a detachable large capacity magazine originally designed and produced for a military assault weapon," as required under the 1998 Clinton administration ruling. 19

It is clearly within ATF's existing authority to ban the importation of all assault rifles. The current wording of the regulation implementing the ban on assembling non-importable firearms from parts that ATF is allowing importers to use to skirt the import ban is little more than a self-imposed impediment that the agency could re-write to comport with the language of the statute itself, the legislative history, and the clear intent of Congress. Moreover, ATF can, and should, expand the import ban beyond assault rifles to cover assault pistols. In fact, President Clinton issued an executive memorandum in 1993 ordering ATF to review the "factoring criteria" the agency uses to exclude the import of some non-sporting handguns (e.g. "junk guns" or "Saturday Night Specials") to apply to assault pistols.²⁰ ATF has never updated the criteria

although it is clearly within its authority to use the "sporting purposes" test to exclude any type of assault weapon—whether it is a rifle, pistol, or shotgun.

Although relatively new on the market, AK-type assault pistols are already showing up in the arsenals of Mexican drug cartels. This is not surprising since these assault pistols combine the power of rifle ammunition (7.62x39mm) with the concealability of a pistol.

An Effective Federal Legislative Assault Weapons Ban

Although it is possible to address the problem of *imported* assault weapons through administrative action, fully addressing the assault weapon problem will require legislation. It is important to note that a truly effective assault weapons ban would impact both imported as well as domestically manufactured guns. In practice, the expired 1994 ban impacted only domestically manufactured weapons since the import ban imposed a more stringent definition than did the 1994 law. The main flaw with the 1994 law was its definition of "assault weapon." The 1994 law banned specific assault weapons by name—e.g. UZI, Avtomat Kalashnikov (AK-47), AR-15—as well as their "copies or duplicates." The law also classified as assault weapons semiautomatic firearms that could accept a detachable ammunition magazine and had *two* additional assault weapon design characteristics. Changes that allowed an assault weapon to stay on the market were as minor as removing a flash suppressor at the end of a gun's barrel.

As a result, soon after the the 1994 law was enacted, the gun industry was able to evade it by making slight, cosmetic design changes to banned weapons—including those banned by name in the law—and continue to manufacture and sell these "post-ban" or "copycat" guns. By the time the law "sunset" in September 2004, of the nine assault weapon brand/types banned by name and manufacturer in the law, six of the brand/types were still marketed in post-ban "copycat" configurations. During the ban's tenure gunmakers openly boasted of their ability to circumvent the law. In fact, there were more assault weapon manufacturers in business during the term of the ban than had existed at its inception.

According to an article in the May 2003 issue of *Gun World* reviewing a post-ban, AR-15 "copycat," the LE Tactical Carbine:

Strange as it seems, despite the hit U.S. citizens took with the passage of the onerous crime bill of 1994 [which contained the federal assault weapons ban], ARs are far from dead. Stunned momentarily, they sprang back with a vengeance and seem better than ever. Purveyors abound producing post-ban

ARs for civilians and pre-ban models for government and law enforcement agencies, and new companies are joining the fray.

Just such a post-ban AR-type assault rifle, the Bushmaster XM15 M4 A3, was used by the Washington, D.C.-area snipers to kill 10 and injure three in October 2002. The snipers' Bushmaster was even marketed as a "Post-Ban Carbine," with certain features touted as "BATF Approved."

ATF has identified AR-type assault rifles as one of the firearms most commonly used by Mexican drug traffickers.²¹

The industry's efforts were aided by the fact that not all guns that are in fact assault weapons were covered by the 1994 ban. For example, assault weapons with more conventional designs, such as the Ruger Mini-14, were not covered by the 1994 law—although gun experts define them as assault weapons. Furthermore, any gun that was legally possessed as of the date the 1994 law took effect could be legally possessed and transferred without restriction. With respect to high-capacity ammunition magazines, manufacturers stockpiled thousands, or perhaps hundreds of thousands, of magazines before the ban took effect. At the same time, the importation into the U.S. of pre-ban, high-capacity ammunition magazines from around the world was allowed to continue unabated. As a result, high-capacity magazines—some of which can hold up to 75 rounds of ammunition—were widely available throughout the term of the ban.

There *is* a working model for an effective federal assault weapons ban. California has an effective ban that went into effect in 2000.²² California made significant improvements in its original assault weapons law—which the 1994 federal ban closely resembled—to address actions taken by assault weapon manufacturers to circumvent the ban. Proof of the effectiveness of California's current, updated law can be seen in advertisements for all types of assault weapons. These advertisements routinely include warnings that a particular assault weapon cannot be sold in California.

A bill that is closely modeled on California's successful law was introduced last Congress by Representative Carolyn McCarthy as H.R.1022. The Violence Policy Center strongly supports this approach.

Other Policy Options to Help Reduce Weapons Trafficking to Mexico

Steps That Can be Taken Without New Legislation

ATF could be more aggressive in identifying and sanctioning Federal Firearms License (FFL) holders who are the sources of high numbers of guns trafficked to Mexico. For example:

- Target border-state dealers for yearly compliance inspections. ATF is allowed to conduct one warrantless compliance inspection of each dealer once a year. It should ensure that dealers found through trace data to supply a significant number of guns seized in Mexico are inspected annually.
- Be more aggressive in revoking the licenses of dealers found to be knowingly supplying Mexican traffickers. Although federal law allows a license to be revoked for a single violation—provided ATF can show it was "willful"—ATF usually does not seek revocation unless a dealer has had numerous problems over years of inspections.
- Require licensees who conduct business at gun shows to notify the Attorney General of such activity. ATF has acknowledged that gun shows in border states are a significant source of guns trafficked to Mexico. The law allows the Attorney General to prescribe the rules for dealers operating at gun shows. ATF could focus targeted oversight and regulation on FFLs who sell at gun shows in border states and sanction dealers identified as actively supplying those trafficking firearms to drug gangs in Mexico.

Measures That Would Require Legislation

Repeal the current restrictions on release of ATF crime gun trace data ("Tiahrt amendment"). For several years the legislation making appropriations for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives has included severe restrictions on the public release of data contained in the crime gun trace database. Previously, the data was publicly available under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Access to this database is critical to a full understanding of the gun trafficking problem, e.g. most problematic makes/models, source states and dealers, etc. It is imperative that Congress be convinced to repeal these restrictions in ATF's fiscal year 2010 appropriations.

- Implement restrictions on 50 caliber sniper rifles. A bill to regulate 50 caliber sniper rifles under the strict licensing, background check, and taxation system of the National Firearms Act was introduced last Congress by Senator Dianne Feinstein (S. 1331).
- Extend the Brady background check system to the "secondary market." A long-term policy goal should be to ensure that all firearms transfers are subject to a background check. Currently, up to 40 percent of firearm transfers occur at gun shows, through classified advertising, or in other private sales. A first step in this process would be to close the "gun show loophole" that allows private sellers to transfer firearms at gun shows and flea markets without a background check.

Endnotes

- Testimony of William J. Hoover, Assistant Director, Office of Field Operations, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives, U.S. Department of Justice, Hearing of Western Hemisphere Subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on "U.S. Obligations Under The Mérida Initiative," February 7, 2008.
- "US cracks down on Sinaloa drug cartel as Mexico sends in the army," The New York Times, February 27, 2009.
- "Cartels in Mexico's drug war get guns from US," Associated Press, January 27, 2009.
- See e.g., Violence Policy Center, *Bullet Hoses: Semiautomatic Assault Weapons—What Are They? What's So Bad About Them?* (May 2003), http://www.vpc.org/studies/hosecont.htm.
- See e.g., Violence Policy Center, Clear and Present Danger: National Security Experts Warn of Unrestricted Sales of 50 Caliber Anti-Armor Sniper Rifles to Civilians (July 2005), http://www.vpc.org/50caliber.htm.
- See e.g., Violence Policy Center, "Big Boomers"—Rifle Power Designed into Handguns (December 2008), http://www.vpc.org/press/0812boom.htm.
- The New Firearms Business, November 15, 2008, p.1.
- ⁸ "Bennett feels the heat over stand on guns," Chicago Tribune Wires, March 18, 1989.
- ⁹ 18 USC §925(d)(3).
- ¹⁰ S. Rep. No. 1501, 90th Cong. 2d Sess. 22 (1968).
- ¹¹ S. Rep. No. 1501, 90th Cong. 2d Sess. 24 (1968).
- 114 Cong. Rec. S 5556, 5582, 5585 (1968).
- ¹³ 114 Cong. Rec. 27461-462 (1968).
- ¹⁴ S. Rep. No. 1501, 90th Cong. 2d Sess. 38 (1968).
- ¹⁵ *Gun South, Inc. v. Brady*, 877 F.2d 858 (11th Cir. 1989).
- Department of the Treasury Study on the Sporting Suitability of Modified Semiautomatic Assault Rifles (April 1998), p. 37.
- Cong. Rec., October 4, 1990, H8864 (statements of Reps, Unsoeld, Dingell, and Schulze). (18 USC §922(r) prohibits any person from assembling "from imported parts any semiautomatic rifle or any shotgun which is identical to any rifle or shotgun prohibited from importation under 925(d)(3); 27 C.F.R. § 478.39 prohibits the assembly of a semiautomatic rifle or any shotgun using more than 10 enumerated parts that are imported if the assembled firearm is prohibited from importation (under 18 USC 925(d)(3)).

- "Bush to cops: drop dead," *Mother Jones* (July/August 2008).
- See e.g. Sarco, Inc. advertising for the "WASR-10 Pistol Grip Semi-Auto Rifle," "the WASR-10 will not accept conventional AK type magazines." (Shotgun News, March 20, 2008), p. 138.
- Memorandum on Importation of Assault Pistols, *Memorandum for the Secretary of the Treasury*, August 11, 1993.
- ATF Fact Sheet, Project Gunrunner, http://www.atf.gov/press/factsheets/0908-factsheet-project-gunrunner.pdf.
- ²² California Penal Code §§ 12275-12278 (The California law also includes a ban on 50 caliber sniper rifles).

EXAMPLES OF IMPORTED AK VARIANT ASSAULT RIFLES





IMPORTED AK VARIANT ASSAULT RIFLES FOR SALE



THE NEW TREND: IMPORTED ASSAULT PISTOLS



Romanian AK Pistol
7.62x39mm semi-auto with new receiver, pistol grip and high capacity mag. 25-1676 \$429.95

Romanian AK Pistol
.223 Caliber semi-auto with pistol grip, with two high capacity mags. 25-1911 \$429.95

EXAMPLE OF HOW THE GUN INDUSTRY EVADED THE 1994 ASSAULT WEAPONS BAN

BANNED COLT AR15 ASSAULT RIFLE



LEGAL BUSHMASTER XM15 (AR-TYPE) ASSAULT RIFLE



Bushmaster XM15 M4 Type 16" Post-Ban Carbine...

M4 Profile Barrel • Mini Y Comp Muzzle Brake • Fixed length BATF Approved Tele-style Stock

A new model from Bushmaster in 2001, this XM15 E25 M4 Type Post-Ban Carbine features a lightweight 14.5" Barrel machined in the distinctive M4 profile with a permanently attached Mini Y Comp muzzle brake. This configuration yields a total barrel length of 16" to comply with Post-Ban regulations. A BATF approved fixed tele-style buttstock is added to complete the military look of this new carbine. The 14.5" barrel is chrome lined in both bore and chamber for maximum longeryty and ease of maintenance. The barrel's button rifling, in a 1 x 9" right hand twist, will stabilize a wide range of currently available ammunition with bullet weights up to 69 grains. The M16A2 dual aperture, rear sight system offers both windage and elevation adjustments - elevation is calibrated from 300 to 80 meters. The two different apertures give either a short range, quick target acquisition sight picture or a smaller "peep" aperture for long distance accuracy. The tele-stock style buttstock is pinned.

and fixed in an "open" position and has been BATF approved for use on Post-Ban manufactured carbines.

As with all other Bushmasters, the forged 7075T6 aircraft quality aluminum receivers are finished in a non-reflective mil. spec. hard anodize for durability, and

include all M16A2 design improvements such as cartridge case deflectot, last round bolt hold-open and raised ridges for magazine release button protection. A mil. spec. manganese phosphate coating insures complete protection against corrosion or rust on barrel and other exposed steel parts. The M4-16* Carbine is shipped in a lockable, hard plastic case - complete with 10

round magazine, carrying sling, and Operator's Safety and Instruction Manual.

BATF Approved, Fixed Position, Tele-Style Buttstock M4
Profile
Chrome
Lined Barrel
& Mini Y Comp
Muzzle Brake
(pemanenty pinned
and welded in place)

SPECIFICATIONS: XM15 M4 Type 16" Post-Ban Carbine

Caliber ... 223 fem (5.56 nm) Mag Capoolly Shipped with 10 round (accepts all M16 type)

Ownell Length: 34.815 inches (38.6 cm) Banel Length: 16" total ac Mini Y Comp. (40.6 cm)

Milling R.H. twist, 1 turn in 9" Wingfit wis magazine: 6.59 lbs. (2.99 kg) Mode of Operation: Gas Operated

Bushmaster XM15 E2S
M4 Type 16" Post-Ban Carbine
(Model Number PCWAZX 14MMMY)
Call your FFL Dealer for Price.
Shipped with 10 Round Magazine,
Sling and Operator's Manual in
Bushmaster's lockable rifle case.



This new carbine is also available in an "A3" type model including the Bushmaster Rat-top Upper Receiver and Removable A3 Carry Handle to offer you the ultimate in sight and scope mounting versality.

Call your FFL dealer for pricing on... Model # PCWA3X 14M4MY

Bushmaster Value!... All complete Bushmaster R

All complete Bushmaster Rifles and Carbines are shipped in this foam lined, hard plastic, lockable case. A \$14.95 Value!

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